



**Conflict and communication breakdown
the case of Laikipia County, Kenya**

Bond, Jennifer Lauren

Published in:
From communication landscapes to bullying battlegrounds

Publication date:
2014

Document version
Early version, also known as pre-print

Citation for published version (APA):
Bond, J. L. (2014). Conflict and communication breakdown: the case of Laikipia County, Kenya. In S. Aydin, & M. A. Webber (Eds.), *From communication landscapes to bullying battlegrounds* (pp. 95-106). Inter-Disciplinary Press. <https://www.interdisciplinarypress.net/online-store/ebooks/ethos-and-modern-life/from-communication-landscapes-to-bullying-backgrounds>

Conflict and communication: the case of Laikipia County, Kenya

Jennifer Bond

*Department of Food and Resource Economics, University of
Copenhagen.*

The final version of this article appears in: *From communication landscapes to bullying battlegrounds*, eds Ayden, S and Webber, MA. Oxford: Inter-disciplinary-Net as pages 95-106.

Abstract

This article discusses the concepts of rumours and language barriers as important and underrepresented aspects of natural resource conflicts. The article does this by drawing on empirical data relating to pastoral conflict and cattle raiding in a semi-arid region of Kenya. Further, the article moves on from the concept of misinformation to discuss the impacts that the lack of communication and proliferation of rumours has on the ability to build trust between the stakeholders and demystify deeply held stereotypes, using the concept of in-groups and out-groups.

Key Words: Rumours, conflict, in-group/out-group, pastoralism, cattle raiding, Laikipia, Kenya.

1. Introduction

Cattle raiding¹ is the stealing of cattle, traditionally for purpose of redistributing wealth within pastoral societies and creating bridewealth. This traditional form of cattle raiding has also been likened to generating *habitus* where the practice is directly linked to status². Research on cattle raiding has outlined the change in the dynamics of the practice in East Africa through the pre-colonial to post-independence periods³⁴ with particular attention on the transition from ‘redistributive’ to ‘predatory’ cattle raiding⁵ where the practice has become increasingly driven by economic incentives and external actors⁶. The motivating factors and a limited typology of

cattle raiders has been put forward suggesting that raiders are more likely to be young men from 'sister-poor' households⁷.

In relation to climate and seasonality, several studies have linked and discussed cattle raiding in terms of drought⁸ or rainfall^{9,10}. Others have focussed on the role of arms and disarmament^{11,12,13,14} and the economic and market based complexities of modern raiding¹⁵, particularly the notion of 'traiders'¹⁶. This article argues that in Laikipia, Kenya in relation to cattle raiding and conflicts associated with natural resources underlying issues such as rumours, language barriers, miscommunication and political incitement have promoted the development of in-group/out-group biases between the conflict actors, potentially prolonging conflict.

This article is based on empirical data generated in Laikipia North, West and East during several research periods including August-December 2011, March 2012 and July 2012, using several methods such as: group discussions (N=24) and semi-structured interviews (N=21) with pastoralists and farmers; key informant and practitioner interviews (N=30); a questionnaire survey (N=353); and in-depth interviews with Samburus who were forced to migrate because of the conflict (N=9). The aim of the article is to discuss the role of cultural and psychological factors in natural resource conflicts which are often overlooked by themes of resource access and scarcity, thereby truly taking a holistic and systems approach to the study of natural resource conflict.

2. Background to the study area and conflict

Laikipia County¹⁷ is located in the semi-arid region of the Rift Valley, approximately 220 km North of Nairobi on the foothills of Mt. Kenya, and is a mixed zone of arid pastoralism in the low-lying drier areas and high potential farming in the higher, wetter areas¹⁸. The Laikipia plateau is 9700km^{2,19}, lies across the equator between latitudes 0 17_ S and 0 45_ N and between 36 15_ E and 37 20_ E²⁰ and borders the counties of Baringo, Samburu, Isiolo, Meru, Nyeri, Nakuru and Nyandarua. Prior to British colonization, the area of Laikipia was under pastoralism, primarily by the Masaai community and the closely related Samburu²¹. During the colonial

period the area was known as part of the ‘White Highlands’, where extensive pastoralism, and later agricultural production in the wetter areas, was undertaken exclusively by European settlers.

At independence, much of the land use changed from ranching to small-scale mixed farming as many of the large-scale properties were sold and sub-divided which brought with it an influx of immigrants predominantly from the high potential areas of Central Kenya²². Increased water abstraction from rivers has led to increased competition for water resources and critically impacted the downstream users in the low-lying areas of the County which include small-scale farmers, pastoralists and wildlife which the tourism industry depends on²³.

In the more recent past there has been a prevalence of conflict between farmers, pastoralists, large scale ranchers, and wildlife²⁴ which has reached violent levels, particularly in the Northern parts of Laikipia West. Stock theft is also prevalent in Laikipia²⁵ and lead to intense clashes during the period 2006-2009 between the Pokot and Samburu tribes. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) state the contributory root causes of this conflict to be an imbalance of power between the Pokot and Samburu tribes supposedly brought about by the lack of impartiality of government and police in their disarmament activities whereby the Samburu were disarmed but the Pokot were not. Fighting in September 2006 led to 25 fatalities (although broader estimates put the number at 150).²⁶ The UCPD encyclopaedia claim that the conflicts were mostly perpetuated through cattle raids owing to the drought of 2005/2006, was mostly confined to Samburu District and was mostly during the Spring periods of 2006 and 2009.²⁷ This article focuses on the conflict which played out in Laikipia District (neighbouring Samburu District) and the perspectives of local residents regarding the causes and dynamics of the conflict, which are reported to be quite intense in the years 2007 and 2008 in addition to 2006 and 2009.

3. In-group/out-group biases

Henri Tajfel and colleagues state that for an individual, the way he/she categorizes their social world into groups determines or

guides their behaviour and conduct in various situations²⁸. This intergroup division provides order and coherence to a social situation²⁹ where individuals are likely to identify with others who are similar in terms of ethnicity, gender, culture or religion (in-group) and perceive different others as an out-group, subsequently learning appropriate behaviour in these social situations. Crucially, the in-group favouritism is not necessarily linked to the discrimination of an out-group instead the two are separable phenomena although many studies implicitly suggest otherwise³⁰.

In natural resource contexts, in-group/out-group effects are considered crucial to the management of resources and indeed associated conflict and studies have acknowledged that the geographic scale at which natural resource management programmes operate at can influence the social dynamics of a situation and consequently the in-group/out-group dynamics³¹. In relation to the Pokot-Samburu conflicts in Laikipia this geographic scale is important in understanding, or at least investigating, the dynamics of the conflict whereby the fighting is believed to have begun in Samburu district and then spilled over into neighbouring districts. Respondents claimed that once the animosity between the two communities had reached an intractable level, suggesting that strong in-group/out-group biases (with a discrimination and negative viewing of the out-group) had become common, these biases were then acted out towards other members of the out-group who were not involved in the original conflict nor were living in the same geographical area. This highlights the importance of viewing natural resource conflicts as part of a larger system, just as the ecosystems themselves should, where a holistic approach should be taken to the conflict which in this case has crossed political boundaries.

3. Rumours of how the conflict started

During the period of data generation, respondents were asked when, where and why the conflict between the Pokots and Samburus started. Many claimed that the fighting had started over cattle raiding and access to grazing land with water in Samburu district and the fighting had spilled over into Laikipia district. More specifically,

some respondents claimed that the two communities were raiding and retaliating but then one Samburu youth was ‘man-slaughtered’ which started the ‘war’.³² Yet others claimed that the fighting started as part of the tracking and recovery of animals, stating:

when they [Samburu and Pokot pastoralists] go to the other communities to find the animals, there would be fighting and it escalated from there.³³

the fighting started 7 or 8 years ago when the Pokots started stealing 1 cow from the Samburu in Samburu District and refused to give back that cow. The Samburus retaliated.³⁴

Others stated that the conflict was driven mostly by cattle raiding and retaliation with an associated underlying feeling of superiority over the out-group driven by cattle raiding.

It is moral superiority, when you raid you feel like now they have taken our cows, we should revenge. So that is the driving force. We have to... we have to show them that we're the superior community.³⁵

The researcher probed some respondents asking why the fighting had become so intense and incidents of violence occurred in the absence of any cattle theft or disputes over grazing resources. Respondents spoke of ‘battles’ where as opposed to a raid which is organised and the *moran*³⁶ ‘go to the bush, don’t eat anything but mean, roasted meat everyday as you prepare psychologically, mentally’³⁷ for the raid, battles are where

You just meet each other. Us, going around and you guys going around, you know, you man your territory... You walk around, you see a footprint that looks foreign, you follow it, where is this one going? You follow until you find it.³⁸

Why did the conflict get to the point where members of the Pokot and Samburu communities would engage in fighting if they passed on the road, fighting in the absence of cattle theft?

During the conflict, the Samburus from Laikipia didn't steal anything from the Pokots and the Pokots didn't steal anything from them, they were just fighting and killing.³⁹

They fought over a cow. The Pokots stole a cow from somebody. The second incident was that the Pokots came to the Samburus because they wanted to buy a gun then the Samburus told them to bring money. They brought the money, the Samburus bought the gun but took the money and refused to hand over the gun to the Pokots. They wanted to fight.⁴⁰

Other communities living in Laikipia West complained of the insecurity which the conflict caused and they saw themselves as in danger of being caught in the crossfire. 'They kill everybody... more than just the Pokots and Samburus who are killed. You can be killed by Pokots and Samburus'.⁴¹ Other Turkana respondents also claimed that the fighting was not always associated with access to natural resources.

The Pokot-Samburu fighting affected us, this is where they fought. They passed through here fighting and the people might have gotten shot by bad luck. The women working in the *shambas* [crops] and collecting firewood in the forest were raped and sometimes killed.⁴²

A few different sources claimed that the conflict started when the Pokots had kidnapped a Samburu girl and raped her. In retaliation, the Samburus kidnapped a Pokot baby and boiled it in a drum.⁴³ No

documentation exists on any of these accounts, although this is a reflection of the inadequacies of the governance system rather than an indication of accuracy or fact. When this last scenario of rape and baby boiling was put to other respondents, very few agreed and many people stated these stories never happened, basing their reasoning on the fact that if these two interactions had taken place the 'war' would be far worse.

Interestingly, other respondents suggested that the fighting was incited by other tribes living in areas such as Olmorani in Laikipia West, where Pokots and Samburus had been living together peacefully, and this was done out of jealousy. This particular respondent suggested that as the Pokots and Samburus in the Olmorani area were diversifying their livelihoods from strict pastoralism into cultivation as well as sending their children to school, the other tribes were worried that the Pokots and Samburus would surpass the other tribes in the area in terms of development so they incited them to fight in order for them to regress in terms of development and political organisation. The respondent claimed that when a Pokot stole something small from another Pokot a Kikuyu would tell him that it was a Samburu and then do the same to the Samburus, inciting them to fight each other.⁴⁴ Again, this is speculation but it illustrates the group dynamics of the conflict where in this case the Pokot and Samburu were originally part of a similar in-group, living together peacefully and both having a traditional pastoral background. This element of living together peacefully before the conflict was confirmed by several respondents. Yet through the conflict they have become out-groups, where during the conflict they often couldn't meet along a road without incidents of conflict. Similarly, members of the Maasai community in Laikipia North who share a common language, sense of dress and culture with the Samburu told of how they have been mistaken for Samburus by Pokots passing through.⁴⁵ This previous camaraderie suggests that the group dynamics could change in the future if the two communities were able to work towards a common goal and see the similarities in each other and building trust through positive interaction.

The aim of this article is not to suggest that all of these accounts or more developed rumours are accurate or that any one should have greater precedence over the other. Instead the argument being made is that the existence of various stories, often derogatory towards other ethnic groups, perpetuates the in-group favouritism and in this cases a strong discrimination towards the out-group. These biases promoted the continuation of conflict and although the conflict has subsided,⁴⁶ the negative out-group perceptions still exist to a certain degree in Laikipia and have the potential to reignite conflict.⁴⁷

4. Communication, language and political incitement

Further to the existence of rumours within the communities, relating to horrific events which supposedly caused the conflict between the Pokot and Samburu tribes in several districts of Kenya, the respondents used war-like terms to refer to the violent incidents of the conflict, such as 'war', 'fighting' or 'battles'. These terms were used when the interviews were in English and local languages. This strong language provides insight into the perspectives of the communities in regards to the conflict, where it was seen as a phenomenon which had progressed beyond the natural resource related conflict dynamics. The physical, social and mental toll of the conflict has had far-fetching implications for these communities. One respondent jokingly likened the fighting to 'Al Shabaab in Somalia'.⁴⁸

Central to this conflict, as other types of conflict present in Laikipia County, is language. Laikipia is an ethnically diverse County with issues of marginalisation, similar to other arid pastoral areas⁴⁹, which has contributed to a low level of literacy⁵⁰. Based on this illiteracy some members of the County are only able to speak in their mother tongue, rather than the two official languages of the country, Kiswahili and English. This has obvious implications for the ability of resource users to communicate and resolve misunderstandings in everyday activities with members of other tribes.

A central point to conflict in Laikipia and Kenya generally is the position of elites, often politicians, in manipulating power dynamics

and creating communicative strategies and discourses which serve their own interests. Many respondents in this study said that the politicians are heavily involved not only in the arming but also purposively marginalising their own constituents in order to maintain their dominating power within the political and business arenas.⁵¹ In Laikipia North there are multiple land conflicts being contested through the court system and one respondent representing a civil society group working with residents to resolve these conflicts stated that a contributing factor to the conflict is the involvement of leaders who intentionally provide misleading or incorrect information to their communities in order to promote conflict and maintain their own interests in the region.⁵²

5. Conclusions

The existence of illiteracy and various local languages with the marginalisation of pastoralists, often a strategic intention of elites, perpetuates the biases between in-groups and out-groups within rural societies in Laikipia. The use of rumours in the Pokot Samburu fighting of 2006-2009 greatly increased or cemented these biases which the lack of formal documentation was not able to hinder. Providing greater access to high quality education centres and schools in rural areas of Laikipia, as most parts of Kenya, has the potential not only to increase the literacy of Kenyans, in mutual languages, but would also provide opportunities for the various tribes to interact at a young age, develop friendships, trust and bonds which foster peaceful development in otherwise marginalised areas of Kenya. Similarly a systems level focus is required when addressing both natural resource management, disarmament and conflict management as many of these biophysical, political and social phenomena do not recognise the political boundaries of individual counties or even countries within a continent. Furthermore, this article has highlighted the importance of looking beyond the natural, economic and political systems towards the cultural underpinnings of society which also influence the manner in which conflict is played out.

Notes

¹ The terms cattle raiding and cattle raiding are often used synonymously, yet for the purpose of this article the author has used 'raiding' to denote the war-like intent of the practice. See (Knighton, 2011) for a concise discussion of the terms.

² Suzette Heald, 'Tolerating the intolerable: Cattle raiding among the Kuria of Kenya', in *Meanings of Violence: A Cross Cultural Perspective*, ed. Göran Aijmer and Jon Abbink (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 105.

³ Michael L. Fleisher, 'Kuria Cattle Raiding: Capitalist Transformation, Commoditization, and Crime Formation among an East African Agro-Pastoral People', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2000):751-764

⁴ Michael L. Fleisher, "'War Is Good for Thieving!' the Symbiosis of Crime and Warfare among the Kuria of Tanzania', *Journal of the International African Institute* 72 (2002): 138-146

⁵ D Hendrickson, R. Mearns, and J. Armon. 'Livestock raiding among the pastoral Turkana of Kenya - Redistribution, predation and the links to famine', *IDS Bulletin-Institute of Development Studies* 27 (1996.): 17-22

⁶ Fleisher, War is Good for Thieving!, 131-149.

⁷ Michael L. Fleisher, and Garth J. Holloway, 'The Problem with Boys: Bridewealth Accumulation, Sibling Gender, and the Propensity to Participate in Cattle Raiding among the Kuria of Tanzania', *Current Anthropology* 45 (2004): 287

⁸ Hendrikson. Livestock raiding among the pastoral Turkana, 25-28

⁹ Dave Eaton, 'The Business of Peace: Raiding and Peace Work Along the Kenya-Uganda Border (Part I)', *African Affairs* 107 (2008): 100

¹⁰ Karen M. Witsenburg, and Wario R. Adano, 'Of Rain and Raids: Violent Livestock Raiding in Northern Kenya', *Civil Wars* 11 (2009): 514 - 538.

- ¹¹ Ben Knighton, 'The State as Raider among the Karamojong: 'Where There Are No Guns, They Use the Threat of Guns', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 73 (2003): 427-455.
- ¹² Ben Knighton, 'Disarmament: The end or fulfilment of cattle raiding?' *Nomadic Peoples* 14 (2011): 123-146.
- ¹³ Kennedy A Mkutu, *Guns and governance in the rift valley: Pastoralist conflict and small arms* (Oxford: James Curry, 2008), 44-80, 116-145.
- ¹⁴ Elizabeth Sites, and Darlington Akabwai, "'We are now reduced to women": Impacts of forced disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda', *Nomadic Peoples* 14 (2011): 24-43.
- ¹⁵ Kennedy A. Mkutu, 'Complexities of livestock raiding in Karamoja', *Nomadic Peoples* 14 (K. 2011): 87-105.
- ¹⁶ Dave Eaton, 'The rise of the "traider": The commercialization of raiding in Karamoja', *Nomadic Peoples* 14 (2011): 106-122.
- ¹⁷ With the new constitution of Kenya in 2010, the former districts of Kenya have now become 47 counties. This article is based on conflicts in Laikipia, which at the time was a district, but is now considered a county.
- ¹⁸ Republic of Kenya, 'Laikipia West District Development Plan 2008-2012' (Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), 1-7
- ¹⁹ Lucy E. King, Anna Lawrence, Iain Douglas-Hamilton, and Fritz Vollrath. 'Beehive fence deters crop-raiding elephants', *African Journal of Ecology* 47 (2009): 132.
- ²⁰ Thuita Thenya, 'Challenges of conservation of dryland shallow waters, Ewaso Narok swamp, Laikipia District, Kenya', *Hydrobiologia* 458 (2001): 108.
- ²¹ Urs Wiesmann, Francis N. Gichuki, Boniface P. Kiteme, and Hanspeter Liniger. 'Mitigating Conflicts Over Scarce Water Resources in the Highland-Lowland System of Mount Kenya', *Mountain Research and Development* 20 (2000): 10-15.
- ²² Boniface Kiteme, Hanspeter Liniger, B Notter, U. Wiesmann, and T. Kohler. 'Dimensions of global change in African mountains: The example of Mount Kenya', in *International Human Dimensions*

Programme on Global Environmental Change Mountainous, 2008, 18-22

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Republic of Kenya, *Laikipia West District Development Plan*, 33

²⁵ I., Campbell, S. Dalrymple, R. Craig, and A. Crawford, *Climate change and conflict. Lessons from community conservancies in Northern Kenya* (Conservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development and Saferworld, 2009) 4.

²⁶ 'Uppsala Conflict Data Program, UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia'. Viewed 31 July 2012, <www.ucdp.uu.se/database>

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Henri, Tajfel, M. G. Billig, R. P. Bundy, and Claude Flament. 'Social categorization and intergroup behaviour', *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1(1971): 153.

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Marilyn B. Brewer, 'The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate?', *Journal of Social Issues* 55(1999): 430-431.

³¹ Antony S. Cheng, and Steven E. Daniels, 'Getting to 'we': Examining the relationship between geographic scale and ingroup emergence in collaborative watershed planning', *Human Ecology Review* 12(2005): 41.

³² Several respondents used the term 'war' to describe the conflict.

³³ Semi-structured interview, Samburu woman, Laikipia West, November 2011

³⁴ Questionnaire interview, Samburu man, December 2011

³⁵ Semi-structured interview, Samburu Moran, Nairobi, September 2011.

³⁶ *Moran* is the warrior of the tribe. As part of the age-set system in many tribes, men are circumcised together and this group forms the age-set. Once circumcised, the boys become the *moran*, the warriors.

³⁷ Semi-structured interview, Samburu Moran, Nairobi, September 2011

³⁸ Ibid

- ³⁹ Questionnaire interview, Samburu woman, Laikipia West, December 2011
- ⁴⁰ Ibid
- ⁴¹ Semi-structured interview, Turkana youth, Laikipia West, November 2011
- ⁴² Semi-structured interview, Turkana agropastoralists, Laikipia West, November 2011
- ⁴³ Informal conversation trader/driver, Sosian area, Laikipia West, December 2011
- ⁴⁴ Semi-structured interview, Samburu pastoralists, Laikipia West, July 2012
- ⁴⁵ Group discussion, Ilmotiok, Laikipia North, March 2012.
- ⁴⁶ In 2009-2010 peace meetings between the Pokot and Samburu communities were held in several districts of Kenya, mostly promoted through the 'Peace Caravan' initiative whereby professionals living in major towns and cities returned to their home areas to promote the benefits of peace for development.
- ⁴⁷ Despite the peace agreements, there are isolated incidents of violence between the communities including the death of two Samburu *moran* in November 2011 in the Aiyam area of Laikipia West while taking goats to market.
- ⁴⁸ Group discussion, Samburu Elders, Sosian location, Laikipia West,
- ⁴⁹ R Pkalya, N. Adan, and I. Masinde. *Conflict in Northern Kenya. A focus on internally displaced conflict victims in Northern Kenya*, (Intermediate Technology Development Group, 2003), 42
- ⁵⁰ Republic of Kenya, *Laikipia West District Plan*, 26
- ⁵¹ Multiple interviews, group discussions, questionnaire interviews.
- ⁵² Key informant interview, civil society practitioner, Laikipia North, November 2011.

Bibliography

Brewer, Marilyn B. 'The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate?', *Journal of Social Issues* 55(1999): 429-444.

Campbell, I., S. Dalrymple, R. Craig, and A. Crawford. *Climate change and conflict. Lessons from community conservancies in Northern Kenya*. Conservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development and Saferworld, 2009.

Cheng, Antony. S and Steven. E. Daniels. 'Getting to 'we': Examining the relationship between geographic scale and ingroup emergence in collaborative watershed planning'. *Human Ecology Review* 12(2005): 30-43.

Eaton, Dave. 'The Business of Peace: Raiding and Peace Work Along the Kenya-Uganda Border (Part I)'. *African Affairs* 107(2008): 89-110.

Eaton, Dave. 'The rise of the 'traider': The commercialization of raiding in Karamoja'. *Nomadic Peoples* 14(2011): 106-122.

Fleisher, Michael L. 'Kuria Cattle Raiding: Capitalist Transformation, Commoditization, and Crime Formation among an East African Agro-Pastoral People'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42(2000): 745-769.

Fleisher, Michael L. "'War Is Good for Thieving!' the Symbiosis of Crime and Warfare among the Kuria of Tanzania'. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 72(2002): 131-149.

Fleisher, Michael L. and Garth J. Holloway. 'The Problem with Boys: Bridewealth Accumulation, Sibling Gender, and the Propensity to Participate in Cattle Raiding among the Kuria of Tanzania'. *Current Anthropology* 45(2004): 284-288.

Heald, Suzette. 'Tolerating the intolerable: Cattle raiding among the Kuria of Kenya'. In *Meanings of Violence: A Cross Cultural*

Perspective, edited by G Göran Aijmer and Jon Abbink, 101-121. Oxford: Berg, 2000.

Hendrickson, D., R. Mearns, and J. Armon. 'Livestock raiding among the pastoral Turkana of Kenya - Redistribution, predation and the links to famine', *IDS Bulletin-Institute of Development Studies* 27 (1996.):17-30

King, Lucy E., Anna Lawrence, Iain Douglas-Hamilton, and Fritz Vollrath. 'Beehive fence deters crop-raiding elephants'. *African Journal of Ecology* 47(2009): 131-137.

Kiteme, Boniface, Hanspeter Liniger, B Notter, U. Wiesmann, and T. Kohler. 'Dimensions of global change in African mountains: The example of Mount Kenya'. In *International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change Mountainous Regions: Laboratories for Adaptation*, edited by A. Rechkemmer, 18-22. Bonn: IHDP, 2008.

Knighton, Ben. 2003. 'The State as Raider among the Karamojong: 'Where There Are No Guns, They Use the Threat of Guns'. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 73(2003): 427-455.

Knighton, Ben. 'Disarmament: The end or fulfilment of cattle raiding?' *Nomadic Peoples* 14(2011) :123-146.

Mkutu, K. 2011. 'Complexities of livestock raiding in Karamoja'. *Nomadic Peoples* 14(2011): 87-105.

Mkutu, Kennedy Agade. *Guns and governance in the rift valley: Pastoralist conflict and small arms*. Oxford: James Curry, 2001.

Mkutu, Kennedy Agade. 'Small Arms and Light Weapons Among Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area'. *African Affairs* 106(2007): 47-70.

Pkalya, R., N. Adan, and I. Masinde. *Conflict in Northern Kenya. A focus on internally displaced conflict victims in Northern Kenya*. Intermediate Technology Development Group, 2003.

Republic of Kenya, 'Laikipia West District Development Plan 2008-2012' Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009.

Sites, E and D. Akabwai. 2011. "We are now reduced to women": Impacts of forced disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda.' *Nomadic Peoples* 14(2011): 24-43.

Tajfel, Henri, M., G. Billig, R. P. Bundy, and Claude Flament. 'Social categorization and intergroup behaviour'. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1(1971): 149-178.

Thenya, Thuita. 'Challenges of conservation of dryland shallow waters, Ewaso Narok swamp, Laikipia District, Kenya'. *Hydrobiologia* 458 (200): 107-119.

Uppsala Conflict Data Program 'UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia' <www.ucdp.uu.se/database>

Wiesmann, Urs, Francis N. Gichuki, Boniface P. Kiteme, and Hanspeter Liniger. 'Mitigating Conflicts Over Scarce Water Resources in the Highland-Lowland System of Mount Kenya'. *Mountain Research and Development* 20(2000.): 10-15.

Witsenburg, Karen M. and Wario R. Adano. 'Of Rain and Raids: Violent Livestock Raiding in Northern Kenya'. *Civil Wars* 11(2009): 514 - 538.